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MONDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1920

WHOLE No. 377

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THE LOVE OF NATURE IN VERGIL

I

(Concluded from page 51)

The matter in hand—the Roman's affectionate remembrance of his birthplace, and the unfading interest of that birthplace in the man's career—may be illustrated further by Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.1-4 (the speakers are Atticus, represented below by A., and Cicero, represented by M.):

A. Sed visne, quoniam et satis iam ambulatum est et tibi aliud dicendi initium sumendum est, locum mutemus et in insula, quae est in Fibreno—nam, opinor, id illi alteri flumini nomen est—sermoni reliquo demus operam sedentes? M. Sane quidem, nam illo loco libentissime soleo uti, sive quid mecum ipse cogito sive aliquid scribo aut lego. A. Equidem, qui nunc potissimum huc venerim, satiari non queo, magnificasque villas et pavimenta marmorea et laqueata tecta contemno: ductus vero aquarum, quos isti Nilos et Euripos vocant, quis non, cum haec videat, irriserit? Itaque, ut tu paulo ante de lege et de iure disserens ad naturam referebas omnia, sic in his ipsis rebus, quae ad requietem animi delectationemque quaeruntur, natura dominatur. Qua re antea mirabar—nihil enim his in locis nisi saxa et montes cogitabam, itaque ut facerem et orationibus inducebar tuis et versibus—sed mirabar, ut dixi, te tam valde hoc loco delectari: nunc contra miror te, cum Roma absis, usquam potius esse. M. Ego vero, cum licet pluris dies abesse, praesertim hoc tempore anni, et amoenitatem et salubritatem hanc sequor, raro autem licet. Sed nimirum me alia quoque causa delectat, quae te non attingit ita. A. Quae tandem ista causa est? M. Quia, si verum dicimus, haec est mea et huius fratris mei germana patria, hinc enim orti stirpe antiquissima sumus; hic sacra, hic genus, hic maiorum multa vestigia. Quid plura? hanc vides villam, ut nunc quidem est, lautius aedificatam patris nostri studio, qui cum esset infirma valetudine, hic fere aetatem egit in litteris. Sed hoc ipso in loco, cum avos viveret et antiquo more parva esset villa, . . . me scito esse natum. Qua re inest nescio quid et latet in animo ac sensu meo quo me plus hic locus fortasse delectet, si quidem etiam ille sapientissimus vir Ithacam ut videret immortalitatem scribitur repudiasset. A. Ego vero tibi istam iustam causam puto, cur huc libentius venias atque hunc locum diligas. Quin ipse, vere dicam, sum illi villae amior modo factus atque huic omni solo, in quo tu ortus et procreatus es. Movemur enim nescio quo pacto locis ipsis in quibus eorum quos diligimus aut admiramur adsunt vestigia. Me quidem ipsae illae nostrae Athenae non tam operibus magnificis exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere, ubi disputare sit solitus, studioseque eorum etiam sepulchra contemplantur. Qua re istum ubi tu es natus plus amabo posthac locum.

All this makes us understand better Vergil's innumerable references to places in Italy, especially the references grouped together in that famous passage, *Aeneid*

7. 601-817, which Dr. Warde Fowler has so well discussed in his book, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1916). Part of his general introductory comment on this passage must be set down here (27-28):

Virgil's methods, whether in poetic architecture or poetic expression, were never entirely simple; and in this pageant we find the usual complexity. Here the most obvious motive in the poet's craft is the wish to move the feeling of his Italian reader as he sees the stately procession of Italian warriors passing before him, or perchance to fill his mind with pride and pleasure at finding among them the ancient representatives of his own city or district. Italians have always been curiously proud of the reputation of their birthplace; even in our own time they have searched Mommsen's "History of Rome" for some allusion to their homes, and treasured up the reference with gratitude. "*Ha parlato bene dal nostro paese*", they would exclaim, as he travelled through their town in later days.

The reference to Mommsen in the foregoing quotation is illuminated by a passage in Dr. Fowler's latest book, *Roman Essays and Interpretations*, 257 (Oxford University Press, 1920). In a lecture entitled Theodor Mommsen: His Life and Work (250-268), Dr. Fowler has occasion, on pages 256-258, to describe Mommsen's work in Italy, in gathering inscriptions. In the performance of this work Mommsen travelled all over Italy, gaining a thorough knowledge of its geography, agriculture, history, and mastering completely its language. After the publication of his *History of Rome* he "was almost adored by the Italian people".

It is time to return to Sir Archibald Geikie's remarks upon Vergil. On page 61 he reminds us that Vergil spent the first thirty years or more of his life in his native district. Later Vergil removed to Campania, to the neighborhood of Naples, and he spent much time in Sicily.

The most important influence on Vergil's poetic powers which his transference to Campania brought with it, was that of the Sea. He may not improbably in his youth have seen the Adriatic, though his references to it in his earlier poetry may have been mainly inspired by Theocritus. At least, if he ever beheld the sea while he lived in the north, its surface seems to have left on his mind an impression of mirror-like calm, with only a gentle murmur of breaking wavelets. On the shores of Campania, however, he had an opportunity of watching the sea in all its moods, not only of calm but of storm, and this experience gave a new feeling and a fresh set of images and reflections to the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.

On pages 62-63 Sir Archibald Geikie discusses the famous passage, *Georgics* 2.475-486, in which Vergil considers the two possible ways of treating nature—the

Lucretian way, which involved an understanding of the *causae rerum* as well as emotional appreciation of nature, the other the way of him who enjoys nature, whether he understands her or not (for an excellent discussion of this passage see J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome*, 453-454). Sir Archibald Geikie insists that there was no room, in Vergil's day, for another didactic poem on the philosophy of nature (63). On pages 63-65 he writes:

... In choosing rural scenes as his theme he took the subject which was most familiar and congenial to him, one which was well worthy of his ambition, and which he loved with the deepest affection of his gentle and meditative nature. . . . He pointed out to his fellow-countrymen and to all succeeding generations in every land the endless beauties of nature, and showed by his own immortal example the empire which these charms can obtain over an appreciative and sympathetic soul.

... it is in his . . . *Eclogues*, that the personality of the poet comes out most clearly. The *Eclogues* bring us into touch with Virgil in his early home, among the landscapes which left such a deep impression on his memory. The whole atmosphere of these poems is that of the country, and especially of the district in which the poet was born and bred . . . though Arcadian and Sicilian scenes were on his lips, it was his own Italian landscape that filled his eye and heart and inspired his muse. He even appeals to it by name <7. 11-13>—"hither across the meadows will the young oxen come to drink; here Mincius fringes his green banks with slender reeds, and from yonder sacred oak comes the hum of bees".

We can picture the little farm as he traces its boundaries from where the hills begin to descend with gentle slope to the edge of the water, and the line of venerable beech-trees with their doddered tops. The landscape, although curiously compounded of Transpadane, Sicilian and Greek features, is made to stand clearly before us where, among familiar streams and sacred springs, the old farmer would still be left in peace, with the murmur of bees in his willow hedge, the woodman's song from the foot of the neighbouring cliff, the cooing of his wood-pigeons, and the moan of the turtle-dove from the tall elm-tree. The soothing melody of these poems could not have been more aptly described than in the words of one of the personages in the fifth *Eclogue*—"Thy song, divine poet, has been to me as sleep on the grass to weary men, or as a stream of water leaping forth in the heat to quench our thirst".

On pages 66-70, Sir Archibald Geikie discusses the *Georgics*.

The poet's boyhood and youth had given him an intimate knowledge of the life of the farmer and a warm feeling for the trials which, even in so favoured a country as Italy, affected farming. In his poem he amply recognizes the laborious and unintermittent toil of the husbandman, in which he himself had taken part. The struggle with Nature, wherein man is not always the victor, enlisted Virgil's heartiest sympathy, and gave the keynote to the whole poem. This sympathy formed an element in that wide affection, through the halo of which he looked out upon the world. It gave warmth and force to his love of all that was tender and beautiful in Nature, and from time to time that love seems to burst forth as an uncontrollable emotion which demands expression in his verse. Thus in the midst of his observations on the different parts of farm-routine, the suggested remembrance of some autumn or spring, some noon-tide or storm, some flower or tree,

fills his soul with rapture which finds vent in words as vivid and beautiful as the vision that inspired them. These occasional outbursts of imaginative splendour form one of the greatest charms of the poem.

Virgil was thoroughly convinced that in spite of here and there thin or ungenial soil, or inclement season, or insect-plagues, or other too numerous evils, there was no lot throughout all the range of human employments more to be envied than that of a man who has to till the soil or to rear flocks and herds. And to illustrate how far this lot is preferable to that of the sailor, the courtier, the soldier, the merchant, or the politician, he drew the well-known and inimitable panegyric on the blessings of rural life and the enviable position of the old style farmer—a passage the musical beauty of which is lost in translation <*Georgics* 2.458-471, 513-515, 523-528>.

The concluding lines of this passage with their reference to the religious ceremonies that mingled with the festivities of the country-folk is characteristically Virgilian. His natural piety and conservative instincts led him to stand by the old national faith, against the spirit of irreligion so rife in the society of his day. The *Georgics* are full of the indications of this piety. His was no "vana superstitio veterumque ignara decorum". Amidst his precepts for the work of the farm, and his expressions of delight in the manifold beauties of Nature there ever mingles a recognition of higher powers that watch over mankind, and to whom were owing the devout reverence and the due offerings prescribed by the established religion of the country. At the same time he was fully cognisant of the Stoic doctrine of the "anima mundi", and refers to it towards the end of the poem (IV. 219), but without positively adopting it, or giving it the solemn sanction with which he afterwards clothed it in the *Aeneid*.

Intimately bound up with his piety towards the national gods was Virgil's ardent patriotism. He loved Italy with the deepest devotion of his emotional nature. While he was keenly sensitive to the beauty of Italian landscape, and delighted in the yearly proof of the fertility of the Italian soil, these feelings were intensified by the fact that all this beauty and fertility belonged to his native land. He depicted the scenes for their own intrinsic charm, but that charm was heightened by the warm glow of his patriotism. It is as much in this ardent national enthusiasm as in any other part of his work that the suggested Celtic temperament may perhaps be traced.

That this enthusiasm was thoroughly genuine and spontaneous cannot be questioned. At the same time there appears to be no doubt that the subject of the *Georgics* was suggested to Virgil by his appreciative patron, Maecenas. The policy of Augustus to encourage agriculture and industry with a view towards healing the wounds caused by the civil wars and reuniting and strengthening the bonds of society, was loyally supported by his able minister. Maecenas might naturally think that a serious poem dealing with rural life and the aspects of the country, written as only the poet of the *Eclogues* could write it, would be popular all over Italy, and would be an influence that might help in the fulfilment of the Emperor's designs. Augustus also took a serious view of the growing deterioration of the religious and moral standard of the community, and exerted himself with great energy to restore the national religion, building temples, reviving rituals that had fallen into disuse, and in other ways trying to stem the advancing current of indifference and impiety. From this point of view, also, Maecenas might well conceive that the pious and conservative spirit of Virgil might be of service if enlisted in the cause of reform. The poet, without in the least sacrificing any of his convictions or

tastes, could honestly devote himself to promote the laudable ends which the Emperor had so much at heart. It might, indeed, nerve him to higher exertion if he felt that in giving the fullest expression to his passionate love of the country, to his sympathy with all rural labour, and to his reverent piety, he was at the same time taking part in the great imperial effort to reform and regenerate the Roman people.

C. K.

VERGIL'S TEACHINGS ON REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IN THE AFTER LIFE

A study of the development of the belief in the immortality of the soul is a far-reaching as well as a fascinating subject. The limits of space and of the subject of this paper prevent us from discussing how the conviction of immortality became established in the course of time through observation of natural phenomena and through processes of ratiocination. We can only consider briefly this belief in its developed form.

There are two principal theories as to the state and the habitat of the soul after death: one, that it resides with the body, the other, that it goes to some other final resting-place. The Egyptians appear to have accepted both theories and to have believed that each person had two souls. One of these went over the burning African sands on a long journey beyond some body of water, to appear before the judgment throne of Osiris. It was the Ka, or other soul, which remained with the body, that appeared as a ghost to the living, or visited one with dreams. Those who held the belief that the soul resided with the body developed, from this starting-point, some interesting theories. For example, the Egyptians practised embalming, for the reason that, if the body could not be preserved forever, the soul would have no place in which to reside and so must perish. Embalming was adopted, therefore, to guarantee the immortality of the soul. Other peoples, in Africa and Asia, and elsewhere, perhaps, believed that, after the body decayed and disappeared, the soul could no longer reside in it, but left it, to seek a habitation elsewhere. Still others believed that the soul left the body at death and took up its residence elsewhere, e. g. in a tree, as is believed by certain African tribes of to-day, or in some animal. In the latter belief, no doubt, there is discovered the basis of the belief in metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls.

The majority of the primitive beliefs of Asia and Africa adhere to or are modified from the belief that the soul does not go to some distant place, but remains in the same locality with the body of the departed, in that body, or in forms of vegetation, or transmigrates to animals. The other tradition—that the soul journeyed to some distant place after the death of the body—was commonly held by the Aryan races and by some Semitic peoples, such as the Hebrews. The Greeks and the Romans of the historical period held that the soul migrated to some remote place. They speak of the soul's going to *hades*—the unknown place; but later

the word *hades* was transferred to the god who presided over this region. The Greeks also spoke of the Isles of the Blest, and, as the Greeks migrated into the Balkan peninsula from the North, they probably brought along with them this conception, which is similar to that held by the Scandinavian and the Teutonic peoples, who thought that the souls of warriors and heroes went to *Helheim*, the house of *Hel*, the Unseen.

Was the cradle of the Aryan peoples to the East of the Caspian Sea? The Greeks and other peoples brought with them the belief that the soul reached the Isles of the Blest or the Elysian Fields after traveling westward over an expanse of water, and the Greeks employed a figure of speech when they said that *dying* was passing over the body of water or river of death, just as the Hebrews spoke of going through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. A more plausible theory, to my mind, is that dying can be compared to the close of a day, or to the setting sun; as the sun ends his daily career in the West, so people got the idea that they too ended their life's work by disappearing somewhere in the West. At any rate, the euphemism for death used by soldiers in the Great War, 'Going West', is a phrase resurrected out of the remote past.

In the course of time, the Greeks transferred the Isles of the Blest to the Elysian Fields and placed them in *Hades's* realm. The important thing to notice is that the Northern peoples and the Greeks as well as others had reached the point where they no longer believed that the souls of all, the good and the bad, went indiscriminately to the same abode. The fact that they invented a *Walhalla* for warriors and heroes indicates that they thought that courage deserved some reward. Courage thus emerges in the dim past as the first recognized virtue. This very conclusion makes a Heaven and a Hell inevitable and it would be extremely interesting to show in what order other virtues were recognized by the appearance of the belief that people who practised them should receive a reward in the next world.

This thought brings up the question of the connection of religion and morality. As a general proposition it can be stated that some religions taught little or no morality, while others taught considerable morality, and that the tendency has been more and more to make the two inseparable and exactly coincident.

There was little or no morality, as we to-day understand morals, in nature-worship, and the practice of sex-worship would appear highly immoral to us. However, as these practices were called for in those days by the tenets of cults, they seemed perfectly moral then, for morals are simply the customs of the times, according to the etymology of the word. We can perhaps assert that no form of religion which deals only with the relations and the duties of men to gods can be expected to afford any important moral precepts by which men's actions towards their fellows may be guided. But, as soon as we find a religion, such as Confucianism, Hebraism, or Christianity, which teaches man's duties

to man as well as his duties towards a higher power or powers, then we find religion and morality most intimately associated.

Those religions, therefore, which taught that distinguished heroes went to a Walhalla or to Elysian Fields, included in them moral precepts, since they taught bravery and patriotism.

When we study the Book of the Dead and see the list of questions which the Egyptian tried to live up to in such a way that he might be able to answer them all affirmatively when he stood for final judgment, we realize that the Egyptians had advanced far in developing a system of ethics. The assertion may be ventured that most of us moderns would feel that we were making a very fine record if we could say 'yes' to all those questions. It was not long until the keenest minds of the Greeks and the Romans realized that other virtues than bravery deserved reward by admission to the Elysian Fields, and, *per contra*, that certain evil practices deserved punishment. Lucian, in his Dialogues of the Dead, and in other works, simply astonishes us with his modern ideas of how different classes of persons ought to be rewarded or punished in the next world. Lucian probably represents the last stage in eschatology among pagan thinkers.

Let us go back now to Vergil, and make a few comments on Aeneid 6, bearing in mind that Vergil can be regarded as an authority on the theology and the eschatology of the time—at least for a large group of the educated class of Romans. His ideas are interesting because they introduce us to certain doctrines which are encountered later, particularly Limbo, Purgatory, Infant Damnation, and the Millenium.

We discover, that in Vergil, as in Dante, there were certain classes of souls which were not admitted into either Paradise, Tartarus, or Purgatory. According to Vergil, these are infants (427-428), suicides (434-436), those who perished in unnatural loves, including those guilty of miscegnation and the like (442 ff.), men renowned in war (477 ff.), and those who had been condemned and executed without fair trial (430-433). The last class is not condemned to these regions forever, as they are given a fair and impartial trial by Minos and are sent by him to Elysium or to Tartarus, according to their merits.

The region inhabited by the above classes is in some respects like the Limbo of Dante. Dante's Limbo contains the souls of those who lived virtuously and have not to suffer for great sins, yet, through lack of Christian baptism, can not attain Paradise. The infants in Vergil's Limbo are in similar situation—they have done no great wrongs, and so do not deserve punishment, and they have done nothing which deserves reward. Suicide was generally condemned in antiquity, as were the crimes of which most of the third category were guilty. The fourth group, those renowned in war, as well as the rank and file who had perished in war, presents an interesting puzzle. Why did not Vergil admit the souls of such persons to Elysium, if he approved of war,

or consign them to Tartarus, if he disapproved of war? The fact is that Vergil neither approves nor condemns war in a wholesale way. We shall see that those who waged an unjustified war are sent to Tartarus and that those who fought in defense of their homes against unprovoked attacks are rewarded with Elysium. The warriors who are admitted to neither place appear to represent those adventurous spirits who, whether officer or private, went to war for the sake of the excitement and did not rest their decision on any moral basis. They are somewhat like the suicides. They ended their lives before their appointed time and so could not present a full measure of deeds done, whether good or bad, and, therefore, could not be judged. Since they entered war from the love of adventure, they are to have their fill of it in their after state, for they still have their arms and their accouterments.

After passing through these five regions, Aeneas arrives where the road branches, leading, toward the right, to Elysium, and, to the left, to Tartarus. At this place sits Rhadamanthus, the just judge, who sends souls to either place, according to their deserts.

We note with interest and general approval that the following go to Tartarus:

(1) The giants and the Titans of old, those first anarchists and opponents of law and order, who tried to overthrow the gods themselves and to subvert the universe (580 ff.).

(2) Those who failed to honor and love their parents and kinsmen (608-609).

(3) Those who betrayed a trust (609).

(4) Misers who hoarded their wealth and denied assistance to the needy (610-611). Vergil states that this group was the largest. It must have included the sordid dollar-grabbers and profiteers!

(5) Those who were caught and slain in adultery (612).

(6) Those who were guilty of incest (623).

(7) Those who participated in an unjustified war, particularly a civil war (612-613).

(8) Those who had sworn an oath and then had violated it (613).

(9) Traitors to their country (621).

(10) Those who overturn popular government and set up an autocracy (621).

(11) Legislators and other officials who accept bribes (622).

In comparing this list with the list of transgressors under the Hebraic law, we find in Vergil's Tartarus punishment for the infraction not of the letter, but of the spirit, of Commandments I, III, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X. Horror of incest was common to the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans. Some of the other sins which Vergil would have punished are quite modern in their conception. Only recently have we moderns been expanding our list of those who do wrong against society as a whole by generally condemning the malefactors of great wealth, corrupt legislators, and those who wage an unjust war.

In Vergil's Paradise or Elysian Fields we find, of course,

(1) the alleged founders of the Roman State and Nation (648 ff.). What American would believe that Washington, Adams, Hancock, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and our other fathers, are now in torment?

(2) Those who died in defence of an attacked or wronged fatherland (660).

(3) Priests and ministers of the Roman theology who led unspotted lives, including the pious seers gifted by Apollo with foresight (661).

We are not surprised at these three groups, but what does arouse our surprise and admiration is to discover (663-664) two more classes:

(4) Those who by discoveries, inventions, and achievements in the artistic and scientific fields have contributed to the progress of the world or have made life more worth living.

(5) Lastly, we understand Vergil to refer to all men who follow any useful trade, occupation, or profession with honesty and with the intention of rendering to humanity whatever service, be it ever so little, it lies in their power to render. We fancy that, if the readers of this article were empowered to sit in judgment on the lives of all men, they would reward and punish practically in accord with Vergil's ideas.

But Vergil also believed in a millenium, not one ushered in suddenly, as at the blast of a trumpet, but one that would result by the gradual elimination of the wicked and the undesirable. It was to be attained in the following way. There was a region in Paradise set apart for a particular purpose, and which, for lack of a better name, I call Purgatory. Of the souls of the righteous who reached Paradise a certain number, selected by lot, were conveyed to this region, where they drank of the water of the river Lethe and had purged from them all trace of contact with the world. These souls then were sent back to occupy the bodies of newly-born babes. Vergil apparently appreciated the doctrine of heredity and had a lively expectation that a soul which once had merited Paradise would in a second existence on earth at least duplicate its former record. If it did not, then it went to Tartarus and had no more chances of living again on earth. By the gradual gathering of the wicked into Tartarus, and the repopling of the earth with the good, the millenium was to be attained.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO,
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO.

LYNN B. MITCHELL.

REVIEW

An Economic History of Rome to the End of the Republic. By Tenney Frank. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press (1920). Pp. ix + 310. \$2.50.

There has long been need of a comprehensive survey of the economic history of Rome, and it is extremely fortunate that such a work should have been written

by one so thoroughly acquainted with classical literature, Roman political history, and Roman archaeology as Professor Tenney Frank. His view of the economic development of Rome to the end of the Republic is, in outline, as follows. The surface of the Latin plain is of comparatively recent date, having been formed by deposits of volcanic ash from the Alban volcanoes which continued active into the third millenium B. C. The growth of forests upon these deposits had produced an extremely rich, although shallow, surface soil by the time that the Latin settlement occurred, about the opening of the first millenium. The richness of the crops led to the growth of a dense agricultural population, which, in turn, caused intensive cultivation and the attempt to prevent the erosion of the soil on the hillsides and along the banks of streams. This was done by constructing dams along the watercourses and by digging underground tunnels in the tufa of the hillsides. Professor Frank's interpretation of the purpose of these *cuniculi* was brought to the notice of readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 113-115, in a summary, by Professor Knapp, of his views on Agriculture in Early Latium. For the accuracy of this suggestion, advanced by De La Blanchère, in *Mélange d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* (1882), and repeated in Daremberg et Saglio, in the article *cuniculus*, the author relies upon his personal examination of the tunnels, as well as on the absence of any other satisfactory explanation of their use. It may be added that the view of De La Blanchère is adopted by H. Stuart Jones in his *Companion to Roman History*, 153, and G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, 1.68 ff. These engineering works are probably to be attributed to a wealthy aristocracy of landholders, whose serf tenants were the forerunners of the clients of historic times.

Throughout the eighth and the seventh centuries Latium did not come into contact with the Phoenician and the Greek traders who frequented the shores of Etruria. Its dense population successfully withstood the Etruscans until the close of the seventh century, long after they had established themselves in Campania to the South. With the Etruscan conquest Latium was brought into contact with Mediterranean commerce. A harbor was constructed at the mouth of the Tiber, for, owing to the river current and the lack of a landing beach, Rome itself was not well situated for maritime traffic. At this period it is probable that Latium exported wool, hides, and copper, which she secured from her inland neighbors in exchange for grain. Under Etruscan stimulus also a limited industrial development occurred, evidenced by the jewelry and the bronze work of Praeneste. However, the commercial treaty with Carthage, concluded after the expulsion of the Etruscans from Rome at the close of the sixth century, shows little interest on the part of the new Republic in foreign trade and points to the decline of commerce in the following century.

Although there is no trace of serfdom existing under the early Republic, the peasants were miserably poor,

a condition which was accentuated by the progressive exhaustion of the soil, and by the introduction of currency with the establishment of the mint in the fourth century. Their struggle for political power, therefore, is partly due to economic causes. In this they were aided by the craftsmen and the laborers of the city who suffered from the decline of trade. The deforestation of the Campagna and the bordering hills resulted in the disappearance of the fertile surface loam, which was washed down into the plains, where it choked the water courses and produced malarial marshes. Latium thus became the semiarid plain that it is to-day. Consequently there was a gradual abandonment of farming in the fourth and the third centuries, and the ploughed fields gave way to pastures. The conquest of the Volscian and the Sabine hills, which afforded good summer pasturage, facilitated the change. Since capital and slaves were needed for successful ranching, the small farmer was displaced by the large landholder, and the population of Latium began to decline. Thus the cultivation of grain was on the wane in Latium long before the importation of Sicilian grain commenced. However, the exhaustion or disappearance of the surface soil did not hinder the development of vineyards and olive orchards, which, like ranching, required the investment of considerable capital. The territorial expansion of Rome in Italy during the fourth and the third centuries provided new lands for the surplus agricultural population of Latium, and obviated the necessity of the development of commerce and industry. Following the Punic wars of the third century came this development of the plantation system, owing to the devastation of Italy, the decimation of the agricultural population, and the abundant and continual supply of slaves.

There are no evidences of a large industrial class or great industrial activity in Rome from the fifth to the third century. In the latter century slaves gradually took the place of what free labor there was. During the same period there is likewise little evidence of important commercial relations. As a consequence, the business man lacked social prestige even in Cicero's day. The policy of the State was directed by an agricultural nobility, whose interests were not so much economic as political and diplomatic; in the absence of a highly developed commerce and industry economic problems were not very pressing; hence the neglect of industrial and commercial needs, a crude financial policy, and a backward revenue system. The Gracchan revolution, growing out of an attempt to counteract the decline of the peasantry caused by the spread of the *latifundia*, brought the "capitalist-mercantile" class to a position of power in the State, closed Italian lands to colonization, and began the policy of State charity for the urban proletariat to the permanent discouragement of industry in the city.

The preceding sketch of the economic history of Rome to the first century B. C. occupies Chapters I-IV, and VI-VIII. Chapter V is a valuable survey of

the Roman coinage system under the Republic. The rest of the book (Chapters IX-XVI) contains an analysis of social and economic conditions at the end of the Republic, under the captions, Public Finances, The *Plebs Urbana*, Industry at the End of the Republic, Capital, Commerce, The Laborer, and The Exhaustion of the Soil. The military and agrarian policy of Rome led, Professor Frank believes, to the disappearance of the old Italian race in the peninsula. Both in Rome and in the rural towns of Italy it was supplanted by freedmen and their descendants, largely of Oriental origin. In discussing the industrial situation the author examines (166) several typical industries that have provided some record of themselves in the form of trademarks and makers' signatures, in order to procure definite data regarding the scale of production, the degree of centralization, the extent of the market, and the class of people involved in the production of them.

This examination is supplemented by an illuminating economic survey of the town of Pompeii. Some of the conclusions reached are deserving of special emphasis. By the time of Cicero the primitive household economy had practically disappeared in Italy, and, whenever a "self-sufficient" rural estate is found, this is due "to an elaborate capitalistic economy in which the fastidious landlord could afford to satisfy his every whim". The industrial system is aptly compared with that of early nineteenth century New England, where the needs of each inland town were largely met by the products of native workmen. Although "a genuine factory system" was not fully developed, still (216)

division of labor and the employment of some labor-saving machinery and technical processes were present in the production of silver and bronzeware, pottery, glassware, furniture, bricks and some table delicacies; while in most of these instances there is evident a capitalistic production having a world wide trade in view.

But there were serious obstacles to the establishment of monopolies and the further extension of the factory system. Transportation was slow and costly; above all there was cheap slave labor, which enabled capricious householders to have everything possible produced in their own houses and in accordance with their personal tastes. This very cheapness of labor discouraged the invention of labor-saving devices which might have led to industrial concentration. Furthermore, the general scorn of industry among the aristocracy diverted the capital and the intelligence of the abler Romans into other channels. The author finds a suggestive parallel between the vicissitudes of Italian and English agriculture. Under pasturage the temporarily exhausted soil of Italy had recovered sufficiently to render farming profitable once more in the last century of the Republic, especially since the fertility of the Sicilian grain fields was declining under the strain of an unvarying wheat crop. However, the renewed competition of foreign grain due to the conquest of Egypt and the opening of the grain fields of Africa brought about a second decline

of agriculture in Italy, especially since it had not the stimulus of a protective tariff. Due attention is given to the recrudescence of free agricultural labor in the time of Caesar, and the suggestion is made that the decline of fertility of the soil in Africa and Italy brought on the development of the later 'colonate' in these districts.

In conclusion, one cannot refrain from calling attention to the careful use of evidence, and the avoidance of dogmatism and of unwarranted hypotheses which so pleasantly characterize the work. The brief compass of the book has precluded the introduction into the text of much of the detailed evidence upon which its conclusions rest, but it is well documented, and, although there is no bibliography, the footnotes show the author's familiarity with the modern literature pertinent to his subject.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

A. E. R. BOAK.

Classical Articles in Non-Classical Periodicals

IV

- American Historical Review—April, Ancient History [notes on publications in the field of classical history. See the number for July, also].—July, The Greek Element in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century, C. H. Haskins; S. Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord: Tome IV, La Civilization Carthaginoise (F. F. Abbott).
- American Journal of Theology—Jan., The Occasion of the Domitianic Persecution, D. McFayden; Wearing the Hat, A. T. Olmstead [with comments on ancient history, mostly Jewish].
- American Magazine of Art—May, (Gisela M. A. Richter, Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style).
- American Oxonian—April, The Greek Question, F. J. Wylie.
- Athenaeum—March 26, Palladas, R. A. Furness [poetical translations of Pal. Anth. 10.28; 9.489]; (Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets).—April 2, An Ancient Ballet-Master, J. T. Sheppard = (G. Vurtheim, Stesichoros' Fragmente und Biographie).—April 9, Martial and Rome, J. T. Sheppard = (W. C. A. Ker, Epigrams of Martial. Loeb Library).—April 16, Medea [an account of a performance of Murray's translation of the Medea, given in London].—April 23, New Studies in Virgil, V. R. = (J. Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil; Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets).—May 14, (E. A. Sydenham, The Coinage of Nero).—May 14, (Pearl C. Wilson, Wagner's Dramas and Greek Tragedy).—May 21, Carthage = (S. Gsell, Histoire Ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord).—May 28, (B. O. Foster, Livy, Vol. I. Loeb Library; C. F. Walters et R. S. Conway, Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita. Tomus II, Libri VI-X. Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).—June 4, N. Bentwich, Hellenism; G. N. Bannerjee, Hellenism in Ancient India (E. M. F.); (W. W. Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations).—June 11, B. P. Grenfell, The Present Position of Papyrology [note on a lecture by Professor Grenfell].—June 18, Sophocles as a Will-O'-the Wisp, J. T. Sheppard = (R. J. Walker, The Ichneutae of Sophocles, with Notes and a Translation); Royal Numismatic Society [note on a paper by E. A. Sydenham on the bronze coinage of Nero, the

objects of which were to show that Nero's bronze coins were struck at two mints, Rome and Lugdunum, to consider the relation of the latter to the metropolitan mint, and to tabulate the coins which may be assigned to each mint].—June 25, Flosculi Graeci Vitam et Mores Antiquitatis Redolentes Quos ex Optimis Auctoribus Decerpit A. B. Poynton (F. L. L.).—July 2, From the Agamemnon. The Murder Impending, L. Ellis [a poem]; G. Norwood, Greek Tragedy (J. T. Sheppard).—July 23, Prometheus and Utopia, Sc.-J. = (E. G. Harman, The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus and The Birds of Aristophanes).—Aug. 20, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Part XIV (B.).—Sept. 3, The Technique of Sophocles, G. Murray = (The Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. Translated and Explained by J. T. Sheppard).—Sept. 10, E. Diehl, Supplementum Lyricum (J. L. L.).—Sept. 17, A Roman Farrago, J. T. Sheppard = (J. P. Postgate, Phaedri Fabulae Aesopicae; G. C. Fiske, Lucilius and Horace; F. Ramorino, Le Satire di A. Persio Flacco).

Biblical Review—April, In the Era of Diocletian, E. G. Sihler.—Oct., The Emperor Julian and His Religion, E. G. Sihler.

Bookman—June, The Latin Tongue, J. J. Daly [a poem].—July, Mr. Prosser upon Aristotle, Mary E. Roberts [a humorous application of the famous definition of tragedy].

Burlington Magazine—May 15, Archaic Fictile Statues from Veii, E. D. Van Buren [illustrated].—June 15, The Acquisitions of the Louvre during the War, P. Jamot.

Catholic Quarterly Review (American)—April, Hellenism and the Jews, J. Simon; St. Paul and Hellenism, R. G. Bandas.

Deutsche Rundschau—July, Th. Birt, Spätromische Charakterbilder (Marie von Bunsen); J. Geffcken, Griechische Menschen (Marie von Bunsen).

Fortnightly Review—Sept., Unfamiliar Heroines of Euripides, W. L. Courtney.

Freeman—April 21, Horace and the "Drys", Michael Monahan.—Sept. 29, In the Classical Cemetery. An Ancient Pussyfoot, A. Harvey [burlesque comment on the meaning and on the current interpretation of Euripides' Bacchae].

Geographical Journal (London)—June, Antiquities on the Desert Coast between Egypt and Palestine.

Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana—75.1, A. Meneghetti, La Latinità di Venanzio Fortunato (A. Sepulcri).—75.2-3, H. Süssmilch, Die Lateinische Vagantenpoesie des 12 u. 13 Jahrhunderts als Kulturerscheinung (V. Crescini); A. Sainati, La Lirica Latina del Rinascimento (Pl. Carli).

Harvard Theological Review—July, J. H. Moulton, A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. II, Part 1 (H. J. Cadbury).

Hibbert Journal—July, A. Loisy, Les Mystères Païens et le Mystère Chrétien (B. W. Bacon).

Historische Zeitschrift—3.25.3, L. M. Hartmann, Weltgeschichte (E. Hohl). See, also, under Notizen und Nachrichten, the sub-title Alte Geschichte in 3.25.1-3 and 3.26.1-3 [miscellaneous notes on publications in the classical field].—3.26.2, U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Platon (E. Schwartz); Dr. Schulte-Vaerling, Die Friedenspolitik des Perikles (M. Gelzer); C. M. Kaufmann, Handbuch der Altchristlichen Epigraphik (R. Herzog).

History (English)—July, (M. R. James, The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts).

- Journal des Débats*—June 11, 23, Pour les Ruines Antiques de l'Afrique du Nord [comment on the Roman ruins in French Africa, their beauty, their extent, and the necessity of systematically preserving them].
- Journal of English and Germanic Philology*—April, Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets (W. P. Mustard).
- Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*—June 17, K. S. Guthrie, Plotinus. Complete Works (G. Boas).—Sept. 23, The Lesser Hippias, T. De Laguna.
- Mercure de France*—May 1, La Grèce Immortelle [note on a collection of lectures, largely archaeological, on Greece].—June 15, Les Plans Scéniques dans le Théâtre Ancien et dans le Théâtre Moderne, G. Prévot.
- Mercury* (London)—April, The Royal Numismatic Society [note on a recent find, in Egypt, of Roman coins of the third century A.D.].—June, The Egypt Exploration Society [note on Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrhynchus Papyri XIV]; The Society of Antiquaries [note on bronze arrow-heads found at Marathon].—May, (J. Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil).—July, The Royal Numismatic Society [note on a lecture by E. A. Sydenham: an attempt to classify certain bronze coins of Nero as minted at Rome or at Lugdunum]; (Hero and Leander. Translated from the Greek of Musaeus, by E. E. Sikes); (G. Norwood, Greek Tragedy).—Aug., (Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets).
- Modern Language Notes*—April, Some Unnoted Latinisms in Tennyson, T. K. Sidey.
- Neueren Sprachen*, Die—Feb.—Mar., 1917, Für das Humanistische Gymnasium—und dawider, W. Viotor [discussion of the place and value of classical studies].
- Neue Rundschau*—April, Die Einschätzung der Antiken Kunst.
- New Statesman*—May 29, (G. Norwood, Greek Tragedy).—July 10, (E. G. Harman, The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus; The Birds of Aristophanes).—Aug. 21, On the Bucolics of Virgil and Other Matters, H. Belloc.
- Nuova Antologia*—Mar. 16, (André Bellesort, Vergile).—June 16, Sterquilinum, G. Boni; Tracce di Omero nell' Isola di Laaland (Denmark) [short note].—July 16, Il Tempio di Vacuna (dai Carmina di Giovanni Pascoli).—Aug. 1, Plotino, A. Tilgher. —Aug. 16, E. Pais, Fasti Triumphales Populi Romani. 2 Volumes (G. Piazza).
- Philosophical Review*—May, T. H. Billings, The Platonism of Philo Judaeus (W. Heidel).—July, Reality and Moral Judgment in Plato, R. C. Lodge.
- Princeton Lectures*—June 12, Municipal Government and Finance in the Roman Empire, F. F. Abbott.
- Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*—June, Milton and Plato's Timaeus, W. C. Curry.
- Quarterly Review*—July, Greek Portraits in the British Museum, Eugénie Strong [illustrated]; The Golden Ass of Apuleius, Lord Ernle; The Place of Dido in History, R. S. Conway.
- Revue des Deux Mondes*—Aug. 15, Les Villes d'Or de la Mer Atlantide au Pays des Lotophages, L. Bertrand [concerning Roman Africa. See also the number for Sept. 1].
- Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*—Jan.—Mar., Vigny et l'Hellénisme, M. Citoleux.
- Scribners*—May, The Debt of Modern Art to Ancient Greece, W. H. Low.
- Sewanee Review*—Jan.—Mar., Elizabeth Nitchie, Vergil and the English Poets (G. H. C.).
- Spectator*—April 10, (I. Bywater, Four Centuries of Greek Learning in England).—May 15, Sortes Virgilianae [correspondence].—June 26, Virgiliana = (W. W. Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations; J. Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs and Plants of Virgil; Hosidius Geta's Tragedy, Medea, a Virgilian Cento).—July 3, Imperante Tiberio [historical novelette by the editor].—July 31, G. B. Reid, The Passing of Classics [correspondence].—Aug. 21, (Discovery in Greek Lands, F. H. Marshall).
- Studies in Philology* (University of North Carolina)—Oct., A Thirteenth-Century Fragment of Justinian's Digest, G. A. Harrer and J. S. Moffatt, Jr.; The Present Status of the Satura Question, B. L. Ullman; Marginalia, John C. Rolfe; An Applied Literature, George Howe; Spenser and Lucretius, Edwin Greenlaw.
- Survey*—Oct. 2, Vernacular and Revolution. How a Return to the Language of the People Helped to Recreate a Great Democracy, A. E. Phoutrides [comment on Greece].
- Times* (London), Educational Supplement—May 27, An American Experiment, Helen Parkhurst [discussion of the laboratory idea applied to the general organization of the Secondary School].
- Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*—XL Band, Heft 2, Die Folie Tristan und die Odyssee, E. Hoepffner.—Heft 3, Amerikanisch-Spanisch und Vulgärlatein, M. L. Wagner.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

WILLIAM STUART MESSER.

AMERICAN FIELD SERVICE FELLOWSHIPS FOR FRENCH UNIVERSITIES

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13. 54-55, brief reference was made to the pamphlet, then recently issued, by The Society for American Fellowships in French Universities, setting forth the purpose of the Society and the conditions of its awards of fellowships, and a draft of the By-Laws of the Society.

Recently, this organization, known now as the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, issued a pamphlet whose opening paragraph is as follows:

"In order to provide an enduring memorial for the one hundred and twenty-seven Field Service men who gave their lives to the Cause, and in order to perpetuate among future generations of French and American youth the mutual understanding and fraternity of spirit which marked their relations during the war, an organization has been established, known as the American Field Service Fellowships for French Universities, formerly the Society for American Fellowships in French Universities. This organization proposes to award fellowships for advanced study in France to students selected from American colleges, universities, and technical establishments and occasional fellowships for French students in American universities. These fellowships will, when endowed, be named after the men of the American Field Service who died in France; and it is intended, if sufficient funds can be obtained, to name a fellowship in memory of each one of these men".

For 1921-1922, fellowships, not to exceed twenty-five in number, will be of the value of \$200 plus 10,000 francs and will be tenable for one year. Among the fields of study in connection with which these fellowships will be offered are listed Anthropology, Archaeology and History of Art, Classical Languages and Literature.

Those interested can obtain a copy of the circular, and any further information, by writing to Dr. I. L. Kandel, Secretary, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

C. K.